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DRAFTED BY:AF/C:WLSWING

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:SVALERGA

AF/C:LDJUNIOR

AF:LWALKER

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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT ACTION SECSTATE INFO KINSHASA
USUN NEW YORK LONDON BONN BRUSSELS DAKAR RABAT
LOME ABIDJAN LIBREVILLE CONAKRY 20 SEP 78.

QUOTE: S E C R E T PARIS 31084

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: MOPS, PINT, CG, FR, BE, UK, GW

SUBJ: PARIS CONSULTATIONS ON ZAIRE AND AFRICAN FORCES,
SEPTEMBER 18, 1978

REFS: A. PARIS 30768. B. PARIS 30852. C. PARIS 30853.

NOTE: ONLY THE SUMMARY OF THIS TELEGRAM HAS BEEN
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CLEARED BY THE US DELEGATION BEFORE ITS DEPARTURE
FROM PARIS. THE UNCLEARED BODY OF THE TELEGRAM IS
SUBJECT TO REVISION UPON REVIEW.

SUMMARY: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UK, FRG, FRANCE,
BELGIUM, AND THE US MET IN PARIS SEPTEMBER 18 TO
REVIEW EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION IN THE SHABA REGION

OF ZAIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SECURITY, SINCE THE MEETING OF REPS FROM THOSE COUNTRIES JUNE 5. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING WAS RELAXED AND CORDIAL. WHILE IT WAS POSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE CONSENSUS ON SOME POINTS, SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS WERE NOTABLE ON MAIN ISSUES. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ZAIRE HAD DONE WELL, BETTER THAN EXPECTED, IN THE AREA OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. ALL AGREED THAT THE FIVE SHOULD CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THIS BUT ONLY THE US AND UK REPS SUPPORTED SPECIFIC AND POSITIVE STEPS (SUCH AS SEEING THAT THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION BEGINS TO FUNCTION) TO PUSH THE PROCESS ALONG. ON INTERNAL RECONCILIATION AND POLITICAL REFORM THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MOBUTU'S RECORD WAS NOT AS GOOD. THE BELGIANS AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE FRENCH TOOK THE VIEW THAT MOBUTU WAS HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, THAT THE RETURN OF REFUGEES DEMONSTRATES SOME DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN HIS INTENTIONS AND THAT HE COULD NOT BE PUSHED TOO HARD IN THIS AREA LEST HE DIG IN HIS HEELS. THE US AND THE UK REPS SAW LITTLE POSITIVE IN MOBUTU'S INTERNAL PERFORMANCE AND THE US DEL MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF THE WEST TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON MOBUTU. IT WAS LEFT THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD CONTINUE TO URGE PROGRESS ON MOBUTU, BUT EACH IN ITS OWN WAY.

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THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION IN SHABA WAS NOW QUITE GOOD THANKS TO THE IAF WHICH HAD PERFORMED ITS MISSION VERY WELL. THE FORCE HAD GOOD INTERNAL COHESION, WAS TRUSTED BY THE LOCAL POPULATION, GOT ALONG WITH THE FAZ, AND THE LEADER OF THE FORCE (LOUBARIS) HAD VERY GOOD RELATIONS WITH MOBUTU. THE US AND THE UK REPS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS EXPRESSED SERIOUS MISGIVINGS OVER SIGNS THAT THE FORCE WAS DIVERTING ITS ACTIVITIES TO THE EASTERN REGION AROUND LAKE TANGANYIKA, WHICH WAS NOT ENVISAGED AT THE TIME THE FORCE WAS CREATED. THIS ACTION SUGGESTS THAT THE FORCE IS BECOMING MOBUTU'S GENDARMERIE. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF THE NEEDS OF THE FORCE, BUT WITH FEW SPECIFICS. THE FRENCH AND THE US REPS INFORMED THE OTHERS OF ASSISTANCE REQUESTS THEY HAD RECEIVED FROM PARTICIPANTS. THE BELGIAN REP SUGGESTED A LOW-LEVEL COORDINATING COMMISSION TO EXAMINE AND COLLATE REQUESTS. THE UK REP OBJECTED, THE US REP EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS AND THE FRG REP NO ENTHUSIASM. IT BECAME CLEAR FROM THE DISCUSSION THAT FRANCE WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY LEADING COORDINATING ROLE AND THE FRENCH REP PROPOSED IN HIS CLOSING CONSENSUS

STATEMENT THAT ALL AID TO THE FORCE WOULD BE GIVEN ON A BILATERAL BASIS TO THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRY AND THAT THE FIVE WOULD KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS (THERE WAS A PREFERENCE FOR PARIS AS THE LOCATION) OF REQUESTS AND ACTIONS TAKEN.

ON DURATION OF THE FORCE, THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN REPS TOOK THE VIEW THAT IT SHOULD BE KEYED TO PROGRESS IN TRAINING THE FAZ, WHICH WAS ESTIMATED AT BETWEEN 10 TO 18 MONTHS TO COMPLETION, THOUGH THERE MIGHT BE SOME PROGRESSIVE REDUCTION OF THE IAF AS ZAIRIAN FORCES BECOME READY TO TAKE OVER. THE US AND UK REPS

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INSISTED THAT OTHER FACTORS SUCH AS PROGRESS IN RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, THE EMPLACEMENT OF THE BORDER VERIFICATION COMMISSION, ETC. SHOULD BE EQUALLY IMPORTANT FACTORS. WE REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE FLAT ASSERTION THAT THE FORCE MIGHT HAVE TO REMAIN 10 TO 18 MONTHS. THERE WAS FINAL AGREEMENT THAT THE FORCE SHOULD LEAVE "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" BUT NO CONSENSUS ON JUST WHAT THIS MEANS.

ALL DELEGATIONS RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPER HANDLING OF RETURNING REFUGEES BOTH IN HUMANITARIAN TERMS AND AS A FACTOR IN FUTURE STABILITY. THE UNHCR WAS SEEN BY ALL AS THE PROPER VEHICLE FOR ASSISTANCE AND ALL AGREED TO WORK ON MOBUTU THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO SEE THAT HE MAKES THE NECESSARY REQUESTS OF THE UN TO GET THE UNHCR ENGAGED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NO SPECIFIC LEVELS OF POSSIBLE AUGMENTED AID WERE MENTIONED.

DESULTORY DISCUSSION OF THE ZAIRE ECONOMIC SITUATION WAS SHORT-CIRCUITED BY THE BELGIAN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT AN IMF-ZAIRE STABILIZATION AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE SIGNED BY THE TIME OF THE PROPOSED OCTOBER 12-13 BRUSSELS MEETING AND MIGHT IN FACT NOT BE READY FOR SIGNATURE BEFORE EARLY NEXT YEAR. BELGIAN REP INFORMED THE MEETING OF BELGIAN, GOZ, AND IMF PREFERENCE THAT THE MEETING TAKE PLACE IN ANY CASE TO EXAMINE ECONOMIC ISSUES AND ELICIT PLEDGES. OTHER DELS, LED BY THE US, TOOK THE POSITION THAT THIS WAS A NEW SITUATION REQUIRING REEXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION OF THEIR PARTICIPATION AT THAT TIME. CONSENSUS (EXCEPT BELGIANS) WAS THAT A MEETING IN OCTOBER WOULD BE PREMATURE, THOUGH THE BELGIAN POINT WAS TAKEN THAT THIS WAS NOT A DECISION. FINAL RESPONSES WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE IMF WHICH WILL BE CANVASSING CAPITALS LOOKING FOR SUPPORT

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FOR THE MEETING.

THE MEETING ENDED WITH REITERATION OF THE HOPE OF FRENCH AND OTHER DELS THAT EVEN FACT OF MEETING WOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL THOUGH THERE WAS RECOGNITION OF THE POINT MADE BY US REP THAT SOMETHING WOULD HAVE TO BE SAID TO MOBUTU AND TO AFRICANS. THIS WAS TO BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY

1. FIVE POWER MEETING ON AFRICAN FORCES IN SHABA BEGAN AT FOREIGN MINISTRY CONFERENCE CENTER AT 10:00 A.

M. SEPTEMBER 18. FOLLOWING IS LIST OF DELEGATIONS:

FRANCE

M. GEORGY - DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AND MALAGACHES AFFAIRS

M. ROSS - AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO ZAIRE

MME. CABANA - DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICAN AFFAIRS

M. MAZEO - OFFICE OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

M. DELADRIERE - OFFICE OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

LE COLONEL GERIN-ROZE - GENERAL STAFF

LE COLONEL CHABERT - MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

LE COLONEL JACQUES-FRANCILLON - MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

GERMANY

M. VESTRING - DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA

M. BUCHHOLZ - MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

M. ZIERER - COUNSELLOR AT THE GERMAN EMBASSY IN PARIS

BELGIUM

M. LEBRUN - DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATION AND HEAD OF AFRICAN SERVICES AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

M. ONKELINX - COUNSELLOR TO THE MINISTER IN THE CABINET AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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M. DE VALCK - COUNSELLOR TO THE MINISTER IN THE CABINET AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MADAME POOT - COUNSELLOR TO THE MINISTER IN THE CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

COLONEL LINSMEAU

COLONEL B.E.M. DE MESMAEKER

M. YVES VERCAUTEREN - MINISTER-COUNSELOR OF

THE EMBASSY.

UNITED KINGDOM

M. MUNRO - DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF EAST AFRICA

M. YOUNG - FIRST SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF

GREAT BRITAIN

M. CODRENGTON - MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES

M. LANNON WALKER - DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY

M. DONALD JUNIOR - DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

M. OWEN ROBERTS - DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

M. MURPHY - FIRST SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF

THE UNITED STATES

2. QUAI AFRICAN DIRECTOR GEORGY, WHO PRESIDED, OPENED THE MEETING BY OBTAINING THE AGREEMENT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO THE AGENDA AND REEMPHASIZING THE FRENCH VIEW ON THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE MEETING AND ITS RESULTS. THE OTHER DELEGATIONS AGREED ON THIS POINT WITH THE BRITISH AND FRG REPS PROPOSING THAT, IF ANYTHING LEAKED OUT TO THE PRESS, ANY COMMENTS SHOULD RELATE THE MEETING TO THE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED MEETING TO BE HELD IN BRUSSELS IN OCTOBER. THE BELGIAN REP DEMURRED ON THIS POINT SAYING THAT THE BRUSSELS MEETING INCLUDE WOULD OTHER PARTICIPANTS AND THAT IT SECRET

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WOULD NOR DO TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FIVE WERE ACTING AS A DIRECTORATE FOR THIS MEETING. THE BELGIAN POSITION IN THIS REGARD WAS ACCEPTED.

3. IN TAKING UP THE FIRST AGENDA ITEMS--BALANCE SHEET OF MEASURES TAKEN BY MOBUTU SINCE THE JUNE MEETING ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL--GEORGY GAVE A BRIEF AND GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS. REFFERING TO THE JUNE MEETING, HE SAID THAT IT WAS THEN AGREED THAT THE FIVE WOULD ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF BETTER ZARIAN RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBOORS. PROGRESS ON THIS FRONT SINCE THAN HAS BEEN IMPRESSIVE, PARTICULARLY IN THE RAPPROCHEMENT WITH ANGOLA. (GEORGY GAVE PARTICULAR CRDIT TO THE US INITIATIVE--AND SPECIFICALLY THE PERSONAL ROLE OF JUNIOR--IN BRINGING THIS ABOUT.) THE BRAZZAVILLE MEETING SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY RESULTED IN AN AGREEMENT. THE UNHCR IS ABOUT TO BE INVOLVED WITH THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THE BENGUELA RAILROAD WILL SOON BE OPENED (AND THE DEPTH OF THE RAPPROCHEMENT WILL BE TESTED ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER UNITA WILL PERMIT IT TO OPERATE). MCBUTU WILL GO TO LUANDA AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER, THE BELGIAN

FOREIGN MINISTER WAS WARMLY RECEIVED IN LUANDA AND A COMMISSION HAS BEEN CREATED TO CONSIDER QUESTIONS OF THE SECURITY OF THE FRONTIERS AND TO FACILITATE COMMERCE AND AVIATION. GEORGY SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS, WHILE PERHAPS NOT ENCOURAGING THE RAPPROCHMENT, HAVE AT LEAST GIVEN IT THEIR TACIT APPROVAL, AN IMPRESSION REINFORCED BY GEORGY'S RECENT CONSULTATIONS IN MOSCOW. GOZ RELATIONS WITH ZAMBIA HAVE ALSO SHOWN IMPROVEMENT. THE ZAMBIAN ATTITUDE HAS BEEN POSITIVE BOTH ON THE QUESTION OF OPENING THE RAILROAD AND ON CONTROL OF REFUGEES. THE ZAIRE-ZAMBIA MIXED COMMISSION MET ON AUGUST 23 AND THERE WILL SOON BE A MEETING IN LUSAKA AMONGST MOBUTU, NETO, AND KUANDA TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF REFUGEES. THERE HAS BEEN LESS

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PROGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA THOUGH MOBUTU HAS MADE AN APPROACH AND IS NOW WAITING A TANZANIAN RESPONSE WHICH COULD LEAD TO A MOBUTU--NYERERE--MEETING. ALSO IMPORTANT AND ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, MOBUTU HAD A MEETING WITH BOUMEDIENE AT KHARTOUM.

4. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT THE US DEL (WALKER) REFERRED BACK TO THE JUNE 5 MEETING WHEN IT WAS AGREED THAT THE AFRICAN FORCE WAS TO BE BUT A TEMPORARY MEANS OF ENSURING SECURITY AND THAT REAL PROGRESS WOULD HAVE TO BE ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL BOTH THROUGH IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS AND THROUGH INTERNAL REFORMS AND RECONCILIATION. AS A RESULT OF OUR JOINT DECISION TO EXERT PRESSURE ON MOBUTU, HE HAS MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE THE POLITICAL DIMENSION.

5. THE UK REP AGREED WITH THE APPROACH SUGGESTED BY THE US. HE MADE THE POINT (SUBSEQUENTLY ENDORSED SEVERAL TIMES BY THE US DEL) THAT OUTWARD TRAPPINGS SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH REAL PROGRESS. WE SHOULD SEE THAT OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS BECOME INVOLVED IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND WE SHOULD NOT LET SUCH PROMISING VEHICLES AS THE BORDER COMMISSION "RUN INTO THE SAND." ALREADY THE UK HAS DETECTED SOME LESSENING OF INTEREST ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENTS WHICH WERE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE COMMISSION. IN THE ABSENCE OF A PUSH ON PRACTICAL MATTERS, THINGS COULD RAPIDLY BEGIN TO DETERIORATE. AS FOR ZAMBIA, DUE TO PROBLEMS OF TRANSPORT THROUGH TANZANIA, KUANDA WILL ACTIVELY SUPPORT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE IN

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ORDER TO GET THE BENGUELA RAILROAD RUNNING AGAIN. THE RAILROAD IS IN FACT NOW SEEN IN ZAMBIA AS AN ELEMENT OF ITS ECONOMIC SALVATION. AS FOR TANZANIA, THE UK REP SAID THAT THERE HAS INDEED BEEN A SHIFT IN RECENT WEEKS: ATTACKS ON MOBUTU AND ZAIRE IN THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED PRESS HAVE SLACKED OFF. A TANZANIAN DELEGATION WAS SENT TO ZAIRE TO ARRANGE A PRESIDENTIAL MEETING, BUT THERE HAS SO FAR BEEN NO VISIBLE PROGRESS AS FOR THE BENGUELA RAILROAD, THE MANAGING COMPANY IS DOING ITS BEST AND GETTING COOPERATION FROM ALL THREE SIDES. THE MAIN PRACTICAL PROBLEM NOW IS THE BRIDGE AT DILOLO WHICH SHOULD BE READY TO RECEIVE THROUGH TRAFFIC BY MID-NOVEMBER. THIS SHOULD PERMIT A RESPONSE TO THE ZAIRIAN CONDITION FOR CONTINUED COOPERATION, THAT THEY GET THEIR ROLLING STOCK BACK FROM ANGOLA.

6. THE BELGIAN BEGAN HIS INITIAL PRESENTATION WITH A REPORT OF THE SOMONET VISIT TO ANGOLA. THIS ACCOUNT WAS ESSENTIALLY A RESUME OF THAT PREVIOUSLY GIVEN TO EMBASSY BRUSSELS. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT NETO HAD CONSISTENTLY PLAYED DOWN THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITA, DESCRIBING IT AS AN EXTERNALLY BASED (NAMIBIA) ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL WITHER WITHOUT THIS OUTSIDE BASE OF SUPPORT. HE ALSO DOWNPLAYED THE ABILITY OF UNITA TO INTERDICT THE BENGUELA RAILROAD (A VIEW DECIDEDLY NOT SHARED BY THE DELEGATIONS AT THE MEETING).

7. US DEL WAS THEN ASKED TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE US INITIATIVE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE ZAIRIAN-ANGOLA RECONCILIATION. JUNIOR CONCLUDED THE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS BY NOTING THAT OUR ROLE WAS PERHAPS USEFUL BUT PROBABLY DEPENDED FOR SUCCESS ON DECISIONS ALREADY MADE WITHIN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS THAT IT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. IT IS NOW NECESSARY THAT WE DO NOT LET THE FORM (E.G., EXCHANGE OF AMBASSA-
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DORS, ISSUANCE OF COMMUNIQUE, ETC.) BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR CONCRETE PRACTICAL STEPS TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE BRAZZAVILLE AGREEMENT.

8. TURNING TO PROGRESS ON INTERNAL REFORMS, GEORGY GAVE A SUMMARY WHICH NOTED THAT MOBUTU HAD STARTED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION BUT THAT LITTLE POSITIVE HAD BEEN

DONE. THE BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE CHANGE IN THE ZAIRIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SHABA POPULATION BUT THE IAF HAD AT LEAST REDUCED THE FAZ DEPREDACTIONS AGAINST THE LOCAL POPULACE. ABOUT 10,000 REFUGEES HAD COME BACK TO SHABA FROM ANGOLA, INDICATING AT LEAST A DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE AMNESTY MEASURES. THEY WERE ADMITTEDLY INCOMPLETE, AND DID NOT APPLY TO THE RESTORATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE MILITARY PRISONERS, FOR INSTANCE, BUT THEY WERE STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND WE SHOULD NOT THEREFORE REGARD THEM IN AN ENTIRELY NEGATIVE LIGHT. ON THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION, THERE IS NOTHING TO BE SAID BECAUSE NOTHING HAS BEEN DONE. THE FRG REP REVIEWED THE STEPS WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD HAD BEEN TAKEN BY MOBUTU ON INTERNAL REFORM AND CONCLUDED THAT THEY HAD NOT GONE VERY FAR. HE SAID THAT MOBUTU'S PERFORMANCE IN THIS AREA WILL TO SOME EXTENT BE THE YARDSTICK AGAINST WHICH WE SHOULD JUDGE ZAIRE'S PROGRESS. IS HE WILLING TO CONTINUE ON THE ROAD HE HAS BEGUN? OR WILL HE ONLY GO AS FAR AS HE FEELS HE MUST TO STAY IN POWER.

9. THE US REP SAID THAT AS OTHER DELEGATIONS HAD ALREADY POINTED OUT THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS ON THE INTERNAL FRONT. THE QUESTION WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN GREAT IMPORTANCE AT THE JUNE 5 MEETING--"THE REINTEGRATION OF SHABA INTO THE BODY POLITIC"--IS RELATED TO SECURITY AND BEARS ON THE AFRICAN FORCE. TO THE EXTENT THIS INTEGRATION DOES NOT TAKE PLACE, THE AFRICAN FORCE BECOMES MOBUTU'S INTERNAL GENDARMERIE, AND THIS WAS NOT OUR INTENTION. THIS USE OF THE FORCE, COMBINED WITH THE SENDING OF MOROCCAN UNITS TO THE LAKE TANGANYIKA AREA INDICATES AN INCREASING TENDENCY FOR THE FORCE TO DEVIATE FROM ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE. THE UK REP AGREED WITH THE US DEL ADDING THAT THE UK HAS VIEWED AMNESTY AS GOING HAND IN HAND WITH REINTEGRATION. THE EFFECT OF THE AMNESTY HAS IN FACT BEEN SLIGHT. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF A REVIEW OF BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS LEADING TO A "DEVOLUTION." HE CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT IN JUNE WE HAD AGREED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE AND THAT WE SHOULD PERHAPS NOW CONSIDER SOME WAY OF COMMUNICATING OUR CONCERN. THE FRG REP AGREED THAT WE SHOULD DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE A POSITIVE APPROACH ENCOURAGING MORE REFORM OR A "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE WHEN WE CONSIDER QUESTIONS OF AID. WILL WE USE OUR AID AS A LEVER? FRG REP SAID HE FEARED A SITUATION WHEREIN IF WE DID NOT PRESS MOBUTU ON REFORMS HIS ENEMIES MIGHT TRY TO BRING HIM

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TION OF SHABA INTO THE BODY POLITIC"--IS RELATED TO SECURITY AND BEARS ON THE AFRICAN FORCE. TO THE EXTENT THIS INTEGRATION DOES NOT TAKE PLACE, THE AFRICAN FORCE BECOMES MOBUTU'S INTERNAL GENDARMERIE, AND THIS WAS NOT OUR INTENTION. THIS USE OF THE FORCE, COMBINED WITH THE SENDING OF MOROCCAN UNITS TO THE LAKE TANGANYIKA AREA INDICATES AN INCREASING TENDENCY FOR THE FORCE TO DEVIATE FROM ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE. THE UK REP AGREED WITH THE US DEL ADDING THAT THE UK HAS VIEWED AMNESTY AS GOING HAND IN HAND WITH REINTEGRATION. THE EFFECT OF THE AMNESTY HAS IN FACT BEEN SLIGHT. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF A REVIEW OF BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS LEADING TO A "DEVOLUTION." HE CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT IN JUNE WE HAD AGREED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE AND THAT WE SHOULD PERHAPS NOW CONSIDER SOME WAY OF COMMUNICATING OUR CONCERN. THE FRG REP AGREED THAT WE SHOULD DECIDE WHETHER TO TAKE A POSITIVE APPROACH ENCOURAGING MORE REFORM OR A "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE WHEN WE CONSIDER QUESTIONS OF AID. WILL WE USE OUR AID AS A LEVER? FRG REP SAID HE FEARED A SITUATION WHEREIN IF WE DID NOT PRESS MOBUTU ON REFORMS HIS ENEMIES MIGHT TRY TO BRING HIM

DOWN AND MOBUTU WOULD TURN INCREASINGLY TO REPRESSION. HE CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING THE OPINION THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE AID BUT BE CAREFUL TO SEE THAT IT IS USED EFFECTIVELY.

10. THE BELGIAN REP RETURNED TO THE THEME THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME PROGRESS ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. IF THIS PROCESS ACCELERATES, HE SAID, WE WILL HAVE GOTTEN WHAT WE WANT. WE CANNOT EXPECT MOBUTU TO DO EVERYTHING AT ONCE. THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH SHABA ARE NOW LIVING IN RELATIVE PEACE AND SECURITY, SOMETHING THEY HAVE NOT KNOWN FOR A LONG TIME. IF WE DO DECIDE TO APPROACH MOBUTU, IT SHOULD BE DONE IN A POSITIVE WAY, BY ENCOURAGING HIM TO CONTINUE IN THE DIRECTION ALREADY
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TAKEN RATHER THAN IN REPROACHING HIM FOR ACTIONS NOT TAKEN. THIS LATTER COULD HAVE NEGATIVE RESULTS. GEORGY SUMMED UP THE FRENCH POSITION BY SAYING THAT THOUGH PROGRESS HAS NOT BEEN AS FAST AS WE WOULD LIKE ON THE INTERNAL SIDE, WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL IN OUR APPROACHES TO MOBUTU AS, IF WE PUSH HIM TOO HARD, HE IS LIKELY TO DIG IN HIS HEELS.

11. AT THIS POINT GEORGY DIGRESSED TO MENTION HIS AUGUST BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA WITH THE RUSSIANS. HE SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE USSR HAD BEEN MUCH IMPRESSED WITH THE US INVOLVEMENT IN THE SHABA OPERATION. THIS HAD LED TO CHARGES OF NATO INVOLVEMENT ETC., BUT THE SOVIETS WERE IMPRESSED NONE THE LESS WITH THE US ACTION. THEY WERE ALSO IMPRESSED, HE SAID, BY THE IMAGE OF WESTERN UNITY AT THIS TIME AND BY THE MODERATION OF AFRICANS SHOWN AT THE KHARTOUM. DESPITE CRITICISM OF WESTERN ACTIONS, THE RUSSIANS WERE NOW USING MUCH THE SAME TERMS AS WE IN TALKING OF CENTRAL AFRICA, FAVORING ZAIRE-ANGOLA RECONCILIATION.

12. TURNING TO THE NEXT MAJOR AGENDA ITEM--THE SITUATION IN SHABA--GEORGY BEGAN WITH A BRIEF OVERVIEW. THE FORCE HAD BEEN PUT IN QUICKLY AND IN AN IMPROVISED FASHION BUT IT HAS BEEN A SUCCESS. THERE IS PEACE IN THE REGION BUT THE QUESTION OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE FAZ REMAINS IMPORTANT. THE MOROCCANS HAVE DONE A GOOD JOB OF COORDINATING THE FORCE. THERE HAVE THUS FAR BEEN NO GREAT DIFFICULTIES WITH LOGISTICS. GEORGY COMMENTED AT THIS POINT THAT
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THE FIVE HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED (PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO THE JUNE 5 MEETING) THAT LOGISTICS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ZAIRIANS. ON THE SUBJECT OF ASSISTANCE TO THE FORCE, GEORGY SAID THAT PARTICIPATION IS A BURDEN TO ALL OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE IAF AND THEY ARE LOOKING FOR OUTSIDE HELP. HE THEN TURNED TO THE MILITARY REP ON THE FRENCH DEL WHO PROVIDED INFORMATION ON THE SIZE AND STATIONING OF THE FORCE WHICH CONFORMS WITH THAT WHICH HAS BEEN REPORTED BY EMBASSY AND DAO KINSHASA. WHEN HE CAME TO THE SUBJECT OF LOGISTICS HE OBSERVED THAT ZAIRE HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY, MOROCCO IS IN CHARGE OF IMPLEMENTATION, AND GECAMINES PLAYS A VITAL ROLE. WITHOUT THE GECAMINES SUPPORT THE FORCE COULD NOT LAST IN SHABA THREE WEEKS.

13. AFTER SIMILAR COMMENTS BY THE BELGIAN DEL, GEORGY TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF TRAINING OF THE FAZ. BELGIUM IS FORMING AN INFANTRY BRIGADE OF 3,000 MEN. FRANCE IS FORMING THREE BATTALIONS OF PARACHUTISTS AND THE PRC IS SUPPOSEDLY TRAINING TWO COMMANDO BATTALIONS. THE FRG HAS PROVIDED DM 3 MILLION FOR COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT. SAUDI ARABIA HAS NOT REPLIED TO A REQUEST FOR FUNDS TO EQUIP THE PARACHUTISTS APPARENTLY TAKING THE POSITION THAT THEY HAD PROVIDED \$60 MILLION TO MOROCCO FOR THE IAF AND CONSIDERED THIS AS FULFILLING THEIR ROLE. (IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE QUESTIONING ON THE SAUDI CONTRIBUTION, THE FRENCH SAID THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE DETAILS BUT UNDERSTOOD THAT THE \$60 MILLION FIGURE WAS GIVEN TO MOROCCO AS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPPORT RELATIVE TO ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE IAF.)

14. THE BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THE TRAINING OF THE INFANTRY BRIGADE IS JUST NOW GETTING UNDER WAY AND IS STILL BEING HAMPERED BY THE ABSENCE OF ESSENTIAL EQUIPMENT FOR THE RECRUITS. THEY ESTIMATE THAT ANOTHER YEAR WILL BE REQUIRED TO COMPLETE THE TRAINING AND

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THAT THE UNIT WILL BE READY FOR DEPLOYMENT AT THE END OF NEXT YEAR. THE FRENCH GAVE A SIMILAR ESTIMATE FOR THEIR TRAINING. FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO ZAIRE ROSS INFORMED THE GROUP THAT IAF CHIEF, COLONEL LOUDAIRIS, HAS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH MOBUTU AND HAS PROPOSED TO HIM A REORGANIZATION OF THE FAZ BY WHICH IT WOULD BECOME CONSIDERABLY SMALLER. HE HAS PREACHED THE

ADVANTAGES OF A SMALLER FORCE AS LESS EXPENSIVE TO MAINTAIN AND ALSO EASIER TO TRAIN UP TO THE NECESSARY LEVEL. OTHER SUGGESTIONS INCLUDE THE RECRUITING OF MORE SOLDIERS FROM NORTHERN TRIBAL AREAS WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE SUPPOSEDLY MORE MARTIAL. THE REORGANIZATION PROPOSAL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE OFFER OF MOROCCAN CADRES FOR TRAINING. THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT YET HAVE MOBUTU'S APPROVAL. ROSS COMMENTED THAT THE IDEA OF A SMALLER AND BETTER TRAINED ARMY MADE VERY GOOD SENSE TO THE FRENCH.

15. ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DURATION OF THE AFRICAN FORCE, GEORGY SAID THAT PROGNOSTICATION IS DANGEROUS. HOW LONG CAN IT BE KEPT IN PLACE? ONE YEAR? A YEAR AND A HALF? MUCH DEPENDS UPON THE EVOLUTION OF RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA AS WELL AS ON THE INTERIOR SITUATION AND THE REEQUIPPING AND RETRAINING OF THE FAZ. THE UK REP AGREED THAT THE FORCE HAS ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN ESTABLISHING STABILITY IN SHABA. WE ARE STILL FACED, HOWEVER, WITH THE BROADER POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE FORCE AS VIEWED ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA AND AT THE OAU. MOBUTU HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET THE BROADER SUPPORT FOR THE FORCE THAT WE HAD SAID WAS DESIRABLE AT THE JUNE MEETING. AT THE SAME TIME, THE REASON FOR WHICH THE FORCE WAS BROUGHT INTO BEING IS SEEN BY SOME AS DIMINISHING. THE FORCE
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IS NOW SEEN MORE AS A GUARANTEE OF INTERNAL SECURITY IN SHABA BOTH TO THE RETURNING REFUGEES AND THE INHABITANTS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT EVERY EFFORT BE MADE TO TRANSFER INTERNAL SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES TO COMPETENT ZAIRIAN FORCES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. UK REP SAID HE CONCERNED BY TENDENCY OF MOROCCAN COMMANDER TO BROADEN HIS ROLE. ATTENTION SHOULD BE KEPT ON THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT BY ZAIRE FORCES. ONE OR 1-1/2 YEARS MAY BE NECESSARY BUT IT HOPED THIS IS AN OUTSIDE FIGURE WHICH CAN BE SHORTENED. A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OAU BORDER COMMISSION SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED.

16. THE US REP REFERRED BACK TO THE JUNE MEETING AND THE AGREEMENT THEN THAT THE AFRICAN FORCE SHOULD BE TEMPORARY. IT IMPORTANT THAT WE TALK ABOUT DURATION. IF WE DO NOT, MOBUTU WILL NOT AS HIS INTEREST IS IN KEEPING THE FORCE THERE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION WITH ANGOLA IS IMPORTANT TO THIS QUESTION AND WE SHOULD CONSIDER HOW WE CAN MOVE IT ALONG. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO SEE THAT SOME FLESH IS PUT ON THE BONES OF THE NETO-MOBUTU RECONCILIATION;

TO SEE THAT THE WORDS BECOME ACTIONS. WE WANT TO SEE THE BORDER COMMISSION WORKING. WE WANT THE RAILROAD TO RUN, NOT JUST BECAUSE OF ITS ECONOMIC BENEFITS, BUT BECAUSE THIS WILL ENGAGE THE PARTIES AND GIVE THEM A STAKE IN CONTINUED RECONCILIATION. KEEPING IN MIND THAT THE FORCE MUST GO, WE SHOULD NOT RELATE ITS DURATION ENTIRELY TO THE TIME REQUIRED TO TRAIN THE FAZ. US REP ALSO RAISED POINT OF WHETHER WE OUGHT NOT TO SHARE THESE THOUGHTS WITH MOBUTU AND FORCE PARTICIPANTS.

17. THE BELGIAN REP REITERATED THAT IT WAS A STUDIED OPINION THAT IT WOULD TAKE 10-18 MONTHS TO COMPLETE CURRENT FAZ TRAINING PROGRAMS. THE GOB HAS HAD CON-
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SIDERABLE EXPERIENCE OVER THE YEARS IN TRAINING ZAIRIAN FORCES. THE FAZ HAD SUFFERED MORE THAN MOST ARMIES OF COUNTRIES IN A SIMILAR STATE OF DEVELOPMENT FROM PURGES. THE OFFICER CORPS IS SHORT ON EXPERIENCE AND RECRUITS ARRIVE IN BAD SHAPE. RECONCILIATION IS IMPORTANT. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO BEGIN PHASING OUT THE IAF PROGRESSIVELY AS ZAIRE UNITS BECOME READY. IF THINGS CONTINUE AS THEY HAVE ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR HALF-FORMED TROOPS TO ASSUME SECURITY FUNCTIONS. HOWEVER, THIS WOULD BE TO CREATE CONDITIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE PERTAINING BEFORE SHABA II.

18. THE FRG REP AGREED IT IMPORTANT TO PHASE OUT THE IAF AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WHAT THE FAZ LACKS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE IS MORALE AND DISCIPLINE. THEY DON'T NEED SOPHISTICATED EQUIPMENT OR LONG TRAINING. HE SUGGESTED THAT TRAINING BE CUT SHORT AND CONCENTRATE ON INSTILLING MORALE AND DISCIPLINE. (THERE WAS NO COMMENT ON THIS SUGGESTION DURING THE SESSIONS, BUT PRIVATELY AT LUNCH MILITARY EXPERTS DESCRIBED THE IDEA AS IMPRACTICAL. IT IGNORED, MOREOVER, THE FACT THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO PARALLEL THE TRAINING OF TROOPS WITH BUILDING A LOGISTIC SYSTEM IF THE IMPROVED DISCIPLINE RESULTING FROM THE TRAINING IS TO LAST.)

19. GEORGY SUMMED UP THE DISCUSSION ON DURATION AS FOLLOWS: DURATION SHOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE; MAINTAINING STABILITY IS IMPORTANT FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY; THE IAF SHOULD BE REPLACED BY AN EQUIVALENT ZAIRE FORCE; ONE TO ONE AND A HALF YEARS SEEMS REASONABLE FOR THE NECESSARY TRAINING OF THE IAF; IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A PROGRESSIVE REPLACEMENT OF THE
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FORCE; WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT NECESSARY INTERNATIONAL MEASURES ARE UNDERTAKEN IF OUR EFFORTS ARE TO HAVE ANY MEANING.

20. GEORGY THEN TURNED THE DISCUSSION TO THE QUESTION OF WESTERN MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR THE IAF REITERATING THAT IT WAS A CONSIDERABLE BURDEN FOR THE PARTICIPATING FORCES. HE SAID THAT THE MOROCCANS CLAIMED THAT THEIR PARTICIPATION WAS COSTING \$10 MILLION PER TRIMESTER AND REQUESTED WESTERN ASSISTANCE IN MEETING THE COST. US REP INFORMED MEETING OF AID REQUESTS FROM MOROCCANS AND SENEGALESE AND ASKED IF COUNTRIES OTHER THAN FRANCE AND US HAD RECEIVED AID REQUESTS. NONE HAD. THE BELGIAN REP SAID THAT THE GOB HAD NO FIRM INFORMATION ON COSTS OF THE FORCE BUT HAVING MORALLY SUPPORTED IT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS UNDERTAKEN TO DO SOMETHING--NOT YET SPECIFIED--TO HELP MOROCCO. BELGIAN REP PROPOSED THAT A COMMISSION OF EXPERTS BE CREATED TO EXAMINE THE NEEDS OF THE FORCE IN DETAIL AND TO DRAW UP AN EXACT ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS REQUIRED. GEORGY SAID THAT TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION OF WESTERN TUTELAGE OF THE AFRICAN FORCE IT MIGHT BE LEAST DANGEROUS TO CHANNEL AID BILATERALLY. THE DRAWBACK TO THIS IS THAT SOME COUNTRIES MIGHT MAKE THE SAME REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM SEVERAL COUNTRIES AND THERE IS AN OBVIOUS NEED FOR COORDINATION. HE ASKED THE VIEWS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS ON BELGIAN SUGGESTION FOR A COORDINATING COMMITTEE. US REP REFERRED TO THE JUNE MEETING WHEN A PROPOSAL HAD BEEN MADE FOR THE CREATION OF A STANDING COMMITTEE TO COORDINATE WESTERN AID. THE US AND OTHER DELEGATIONS HAD OPPOSED THE IDEA AT THAT TIME AND TO THE EXTENT THAT THE BELGIAN PROPOSAL WENT IN THAT DIRECTION WE WOULD HAVE PROBLEMS WITH IT. IF WHAT IS BEING DISCUSSED IS A SIMPLE INFORMAL MECHANISM--A CLEARINGHOUSE--FOR THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WE MIGHT BE ABLE

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TO CONSIDER IT. HE SUGGESTED THAT IF SUCH A CLEARINGHOUSE WAS ESTABLISHED, FRANCE IN VIEW OF ITS PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP ROLE MIGHT BE THE LOGICAL COUNTRY TO ACT AS THE PRIMARY CHANNEL. GEORGY DEMURRED SAYING THAT IT WOULD NOT BE A GOOD IDEA TO CREATE ANYTHING THAT WOULD GIVE THE SENSE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE FORCE. NO ONE NEED TAKE THE ROLE OF COORDINATOR AND AID NOT NEED

LEAVE THE BILATERAL CHANNEL. A COORDINATING COMMITTEE NOT NECESSARY. IT WILL BE SUFFICIENT FOR EACH COUNTRY TO RELAY INFORMATION IT RECEIVES TO OTHER COUNTRIES AND ALSO TO INFORM THEM OF ACTION TAKEN. FRG AND UK DELS AGREED WITH THIS APPROACH. BELGIAN REP SAID THAT GOB WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A MORE UNITED APPROACH AND THAT COOPERATION BE DEEPER.

21. US REP SAID THAT WHILE DISCUSSING QUESTION OF SUPPLIES TO THE FORCE HE WAS OBLIGED TO MENTION A REPORT THAT HAD COME TO THE ATTENTION OF THE US TO THE EFFECT THAT THE IAF WAS PROCURING A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF ITS SUPPLIES FROM RHODESIA. IF TRUE, SUCH A VIOLATION OF SANCTION WOULD HAVE A VERY SERIOUS EFFECT ON THE WAY WE LOOK AT THE FORCE. WHETHER TRUE OR NOT, THIS IS IN ANY CASE THE KIND OF ISSUE WHICH WILL MULTIPLY THE LONGER THE FORCE REMAINS IN SHABA AND GIVES URGENCY TO GETTING THE FORCE OUT.

22. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO AGEND ITEM ON REFUGEES. GEORGY SAID FRENCH ESTIMATE 200,000 ZAIRIAN REFUGEES IN ANGOLA (NO FIGURE OF ANGOLANS IN ZAIRE). OF THESE 200,000 SOME 9-10,000 HAD ALREADY RETURNED TO ZAIRE. THEIR RECEPTION HAS BEEN HANDLED ON AN AD HOC MANNER. ZAIRE HAD REQUESTED UNHCR ASSISTANCE. US REP SAID THAT TO EXTENT WE ENCOURAGE RECONCILIATION WE HAVE A
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RESPONSIBILITY AND NOT A LITTLE INTEREST IN THE QUESTION OF REFUGEES. AN ASPECT OF RECONCILIATION IS THAT AS ANGOLANS MOVE EX-KATANGESE GENDARMES AWAY FROM THE FRONTIER THE EX-KATANGANS BEGIN TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT THEIR FUTURE IN ANGOLA. ZAIRIANS HAVE BEGUN TO RETURN IN GREAT NUMBERS. OUR INTEREST IS HUMANITARIAN BUT IT ALSO RELATES TO OUR SECURITY CONCERNS. US FAVORS A SURVEY OF THE PROBLEM BY UNHCR AND IF IT IS OF THE DIMENSIONS THAT WE BELIEVE IT MAY BE, THEN WE WILL BE PRPEARED TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE. DISCUSSION WHICH FOLLOWED RESULTED IN AGREEMENT THAT THE UNHCR IS THE PROPER VEHICLE FOR REFUGEE ASSISTANCE TO RETURNING REFUGEES. US AND UK POINTED OUT PROBLEM HOLDING UP UNHCR INVOLVEMENT IS NOW MERELY LETTER FROM MOBUTU SPECIFYING WHAT HE WISHES THE UNHCR TO DO. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE FIVE, THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, WOULD PRESSURE MOBUTU TO QUICKLY DO WHAT IS NECESSARY. THERE WAS ALSO GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT EXTRAORDINARY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE FIVE TO UNHCR WOULD BE CALLED FOR BUT NO SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF AMOUNTS.

23. ECONOMIC EXPERT ON FRENCH DELEGATION BEGAN DISCUSSION OF LAST AGENDA ITEM--ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION--BY A REVIEW OF WHAT HAD BEEN DECIDED AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING OF LAST JUNE AND PROGRESS SINCE THEN IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. DISCUSSION OF THIS ITEM WAS SHORT-CIRCUITED WHEN BELGIAN DELEGATION PROPOSED TO JUMPTO THE QUESTION OF THE PLANNED OCTOBER 12-13 MEETING IN BRUSSELS. ONKELINX SAID THERE IS NOW A QUESTION OF WHETHER IT IS OPPORTUNE TO HOLD THE OCTOBER MEETING. AT THE JUNE MEETING IT WAS FORESEEN THAT BY THE OCTOBER MEETING THERE WOULD BE A STABILIZATION AGREEMENT. THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE. THE ZAIRE CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR SAYS THAT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF ARE PROCEEDING WELL, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE DESIR-
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ABLE BEFORE THE STABILIZATION AGREEMENT CONCLUDED TO KNOW WHAT EACH COUNTRY WOULD PROVIDE. AN IMF DELEGATION HEADED BY BORNEMAN IS IN BRUSSELS. HE SAYS IT IS THE IMF DESIRE TO DISCUSS WITH COUNTRIES AT THE BRUSSELS MEETING AN IDEA OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS. THE IMF PLANS TO SEND A MISSION TO ZAIRE TOWARDS THE END OF THE YEAR WHICH WILL COME UP WITH A STABILIZATION PLAN. THE GOB FEELS THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH CAN USEFULLY BE DISCUSSED AT A BRUSSELS MEETING: URGENT AID, REFORMS, THREE-MONTH FOREIGN EXCHANGE BUDGET, PROGRAM OF SUPPLY FOR 6-12 MONTHS, MIDDLE TERM INVESTMENT, ETC. BELGIUM IS DISPOSED TO HOLD THE MEETING AS FORESEEN. GOZ AND THE IMF WANT IT.

24. US REP SAID THAT US POSITION AS OF RIGHT NOW IS THAT THERE MUST BE A STABILIZATION AGREEMENT BEFORE THE US WILL ATTEND THE BRUSSELS MEETING. IF THIS IS NOT TO BE THE CASE WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND MAKE A DECISION ON THAT BASIS. WE ALSO HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE IDEA OF A MEETING AS PLEDGING SESSION. OUR IDEA WAS THAT THIS WOULD COME AT THE DECEMBER MEETING. FRG REP SHARED US REP'S RESERVATIONS ON BRUSSELS MEETING. SAID FRG WOULD FAVOR HOLDING OFF MEETING UNTIL THERE IS A STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

25. IN DISCUSSING CONCERN OVER GETTING CONTROL OVER ZAIRE FOREIGN EXCHANGE EXPENDITURES, FRG REP SAID THAT ALL GAPS SHOULD BE CLOSED. ASIDE FROM THE "DOTATION PRESIDENTIALE" ANOTHER AREA OF LEAKAGE IS FOR ARMS PURCHASES. FRG UNDERSTANDS THAT SOME ARMS (HELICOPTERS ETC.) HAVE BEEN PURCHASED WITH COPPER. ALL COPPER SALES SHOULD BE MADE IN REGULAR CHANNELS TO HAVE A
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FIRM GRASP OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE SITUATION.

26. IN SUMMING UP THE ATTITUDE OF THE DELEGATIONS TO THE OCTOBER BRUSSELS MEETING, GEORGY SAID THERE WAS A CONSENSUS THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE. HE ACCEPTED BELGIAN NOTE THAT THIS DID NOT REPRESENT DECISIONS BY GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE IMF IN CAPITALS.

27. IN BRIEF SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS OF MEETING GEORGY REFERRED AGAIN TO LIKELY 12-18 MONTH DURATION FOR IAF. US REP SUPPORTED BY UK SAID THIS COULD NOT BE FLATLY ACCEPTED. OTHER FACTORS MUST BE WEIGHED ALSO. OUR POSITION WAS THAT THE FORCE SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. TRAINING OF FAE BUT ONE ELEMENT. FRENCH AND OTHERS AGREED FORCE SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" BUT THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS ON JUST WHAT THIS MEANT.

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